602 /128 cont./ kinsman or a trusted follower named as kampong
634 head. Thus, at an election for a kapala, the brother of the
662 adat community head was set up as a candidate against a member of the leading group of relatives residing there. This
[666] brother obtained a number of votes from members of the Rest group living there, but nevertheless lost the election. Only after the first ballot had been declared a test ballot, and the second produced the same result, did the adat community head give in.

634 The adat community head counteracts the formation of
661 power centers in his region. He looks with disfavor upon marriage connections between the closest kinsmen /127/ of his various Kapala, unless it is he himself who brings about such a marriage. Furthermore, he knows that an ornament which is in the hands of one of the Kapala groups always signifies a potential threat to him.

634 Insofar as he is concerned with affairs outside the adat
661 community, the adat community head generally endeavors
643 to establish ties either with his fellow adat community heads or with his prince and his kinsmen. The prince looks with disfavor upon the former practice for it threatens to create a direct power center within his realm. He would be even more averse to a tie between one of his adat community heads and a neighboring prince. Although this need not be expected from the heads of the adat communities lying close around the center of Goa, in the marginal, mountainous regions
634 the situation is different. There it has happened that a local
643 head defected from his prince in order to follow another (1).
662

1. "Although the mountain Makassarese continued for a long time to resist a union with the maritime Makassarese, and in 1817 under Aroe Mampoe submitted to the new Prince of Goa,

157 was adamant. The Minangkabau man said that no human
114 sympathy, feeling, or responsibility was shown. He added that he is afraid because of the many unfriendly faces all around. He is an Indonesian, a stranger here.

661 The old Sulewatang, who is Minister of Public Information
829 here, gave a speech on government. Someone in the audience asked him what democracy meant. He said it meant unques-
184 tioning obedience to the orders of the radja. Then I heard
563 something really good. There are two kampongs near Pam-
161 panua, one called Welado and the other Udjung. The people
582 there are known to be different and Andi said they formerly had no adat. But they are reported to have "learned". Udjung and Welado, especially the latter, speak Buginese with a definite accent. Later, on our way to Pampanua, we passed Welado which Andi says has a population of 10,000. It is a dark, dank place on the river with ramshackle houses. Still, it is no more so than most Buginese kampongs. The people seem to me (imagination?) to be a bit negroid. Anyway, Friedericy says that Welado is the one village that refused to give a girl, if requested, to the radja. This is because once a Bone prince mistreated a girl of this kampong who was given to him. The Sulewatang explained the case by telling me that this kampong was formerly Toridjene. They are Badjo, now in the process of acculturation, and still have an accent in Buginese.

197 As for accent and languages in this area, I am told that
191 Makassarese is so close to Buginese that it can be understood by either speaker when speaking to the other in ones' own language (like Danish and Norwegian). But, they say, it sounds funny. Also, they can tell what part of the Buginese area a person comes from by his accent, for example, if a person comes from Wadjo.

186 I got nowhere regarding the traditional enmities question. [presumably with the Makassarese--Analyst] They seem to have forgotten the whole business, and maybe it was this way formerly. Once the war was over, it may have been like a game.

772 I also got nowhere on cosmology linked with the state, nor with magical ideas. They are dead on this matter, or else they are covering up.

443 As for the market, this is definitely a five-day market
366 week area although there are twice-a-week markets, and, as in Pampanua, five-day-a-week markets. One lad said that there are interlocking circles of markets. Thus Watumpone gears in with at least two. One runs to the west including Palakka and (I presume) three other kampongs with markets

463 So far as I can see, specialization is not strict but there is a tendency for sons to follow their father's trade.

426 They say that there are not many who have run up debts 465 with the Chinese. For the most part if it is necessary to 499 borrow some money the local people try to do it from some- 466 one in their own family (this is quite different from Java and elsewhere). There are perhaps one hundred men who work for wages. They work in offices, in stores, in schools, and some as common laborers. But most of the people do not work for wages. I asked, after Thierens told me that it was easy for them to get money if they were willing to work as coolies on roads, if this were true. Andi said that it was true only for the city. Road work on the roads in Bone is done by heerendienst which amounts to seven days' labor every three months. In Watumpone the laborers get 75 sen per day and this is not enough even for their food, so they won't work at [435] it. They said that even in offices one might get only f. 30 per month, and one meal costs about f. 1. He was much concerned about wages and prices. I heard later from a tobacco man who was English that women work in drying sheds for 75 sen per day. They are asking for f. 1 per day.

563 As for the shops and stores, a few Buginese are shop- 443 keepers (as I remember, four), and the rest are Chinese. The 492 Kepala kampong owns a brick factory, and this is the only 433 manufacturing center in the area.

Bukaka, September 9, 1949. Third day: I went on with the ● 661 schedule. Concerning political life, a certain amount of discomfort was raised as a result of our discussion. Luckily only Andi and a close friend were present. Andi said that there was so much fear that it was impossible for them to discuss things openly. He said his friend was trustworthy, but that others might inform on him, and if he merely discussed Bone or Indonesia or especially the Republican politics he would lose his job. And he would probably be arrested. In other words any political discussion here regarding Indonesia means jail. The only things that might be discussed cautiously would be those concerning extra-Indonesian politics, for example, diplomatic relations, the United States, China, Russia, India, but even here one has to be careful.

208 Concerning communism, they said there is much propa- 668 ganda against it coming from Makassar, But especially strong propaganda against it comes from the Republic. They said that it is very effective because those responsible for it use the line that communism is against Mohammedanism; and this is sure to work here where Mohammedanism is the next most important thing to adat.

Makassar 066

829 As for the ideas of the horizon of political life,
208 he said that outwardly there had
521 been no change, and that the horizon is actually non-existent. However, he suspects that much more goes on beneath the surface. He said that every man, even the lowers, knows about the Java troubles. But one never hears a word about this in public. As for outside places, they know a lot about the United States and Russia, that is, they know about the troubles involved. They know the communists have China. And they know that India is free. They know about the Pakistan-Hindustan trouble. They know a little bit about Burma. And they know that MacArthur wants to use Japan against Russia. They know the Philippines are free. They know Germany wants to fight against Russia. All of this is known in varying degrees, but in general much news goes on under cover. Most knowledge, however, centers around the United States, Russia, and China. A poor last is India.

As for colonialism, Andi said this is another jail matter. People just keep their mouths shut. But he knows, and thinks other people know, that the radjas and the Dutch are working together. I made a speech on this and he agreed. I can see that he knows quite a bit, and is probably very Republican in sympathy, which means that he and his fellows must talk quite a bit on the side.

● 661 As for ideas about Holland and the like, that is also taboo.
829 As for any knowledge of other countries' politics, as above it
521 centers mostly around the United States, Russia, China, and
203 then last India. Some knowledge is shown concerning Germany and Japan, and other Southeast Asian countries. They obtain this knowledge via movies; little information reaches them indirectly from radio sources (i.e., one hears a broadcast and relates the news to others), for example, from the Voice of America or the Republican radio. Some news also travels by rumor and from papers or from people who read papers. Political subjects are seldom or never discussed in public. Such discussions may go in the homes and in secret, but only in intimate circles and even then the people are quite wary. I asked the Controleur about this and he said there were two viewpoints: First, that in 1946 there was a great deal of political trouble here involving extremists, and many were killed. Thus politics seems dangerous and must be suppressed or else it will lead to trouble. The other, to which he and the Assistant Resident incline, is that if they suppress discussion of these matters to a certain degree here there will certainly be an explosion someday. He thinks it would be better if the nobles would get on a more political basis or on the political
665 bandwagon and into political parties. He said that Bone is the
668 only state in South Celebes which has no parties. This seems

to him to be shortsighted. However, nearly all other upper administrative elements here are against it. In Wadjo there are political parties but that seems to be because the administration is so rotten and the folk there are getting set for an eventual revolution. The Bone radja also has had bad experiences with leftish politicians in Makassar. They won't keep their word, and although he is a conservative, he keeps his word. Thus he is disgusted with politics. Nevertheless, he has a great deal of influence even with those who are relatively radical. When a blazing representative of the Republic here meets the Radja he gives him sembah [homage, respectful greeting with hands placed together on the forehead]. And this is true also in Makassar. But the new and radical politicians are also still caught in the web of the rigid adat of South Celebes. As for the exiled Arumpone, the Controleur said that if the Dutch were to leave, there is a good chance for a coup d'etat here, and in other places as well. He also agreed that if in the Republic, with freedom the radjas will suffer with a resultant political upsurge. As for the point that many of the people think that the Dutch and the radjas are working together, I get the impression that it is partly true, and the Dutch I meet constantly rationalize this by saying that all would fall apart here if the traditional custom law, the adat, which depends upon the ordered, ranked universe were to be suddenly abolished. But, says the Controleur, the people do not know how much the Dutch keep the radjas from excesses both diplomatically and behind the scenes. Still, he said that it is difficult now because the Dutch are only here as helpers and can work only through the radjas. In previous times if there was a bad fellow high up in the state, the Dutch could jail him. But now, for example in Wadjo, there are four of the highest officials who should be in jail. But this is simply "no go," and it is of no use anyway because the replacements would probably be just as bad. The Controleur went on to say that the distribution of cloth especially is on a graft basis, because it is in the hands of the rulers, lesser rulers, and the various kepala kampongs. This usually works out through their inflating the size of the family. For example, they will list a family as consisting of nine members when it really has only five. Then they will give out the ration for five members, keeping the surplus ration for four and selling it later to the Chinese.

665 668 668 663 576 178 648 663 178 565 661 656 665 521

Andi agreed that religion is very important here and that if there were parties, the Mohammedan party or parties would get much support. He also said that the relatively

C 563 Buludua which is on the side road from the main Watumpone-Makassarese highway. Later I talked with Thierens, and was astonished to have at last found the Toala. There is in the western part of Bone, on the border of Parepare and Barru, a wanua called Telu Limpoe, which is Sarasin's name for the three tribes of the Toala. They are under the Sulewatang of Telu Limpoe, a young and able lad. I must go by the poor road westward from the Watumpone-Sindjai highway, and then walk a distance. Remarkable, by checking Denzo's To Patuntung area with Thieren's Telu Limpoe area I find that they are just about the same. This is a puzzle. Are they Toala, or were they To Patuntung? If so, why no temples and stones and pinati and K. Lowe? My guess is that there are To Patuntung and To Patuntung. Those like the Toala were so remote and primitive that they lack even the Hinduist influence of the real To Patuntung. But one thing is clear. In the mountains here there must be any number of small groups of people like this. Exploration would find them and I could do it if I had the time. Now I begin to see why the Toala matter may well be just the lowest point on the scale of the non-Mohammedan remote peoples in the mountains of South Celebes.

M 793 692 622 In regard to the judicial system of Bone, Thierens explained a number of items. For questions of a religious nature, the first one to whom the people in the kampong go is the religious teacher, the guru. If nothing can be decided, the case goes to the imam of the wanua. If it is still no go, it goes to the Sjarat of Bone, on which are the various kali. If the case is still undecided, it goes to the Hadat Besar, a supreme court which handles both religious and other cases. As for civil and criminal cases, they start with the kepala kampong. If more than f.100 is involved, or the case cannot be decided (i.e., one of the parties is not satisfied), it then goes to the Hadat Ketjil, the court of the wanua, which has the kepala wanua and two of the kepala kampongs on it. If this is still ineffective, it goes to the Hadat Besar in Watumpone. And still further one can appeal to the resident of Celebes, or, and some do, to Batavia. The tradition is that any man can appeal cases. And in this one matter they are open and brave (berani). They will appeal. In fact, Thierens said that his office dealing with civil and criminal matters is deluged with letters and every one must be answered. Also he added that when he is in the office in Makassar he gets letters too, as a man with an appeal will send copies of a letter to the local office, the state

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Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8

office and even to Batavia. The trouble with Wadjo is that many letters there are left unanswered because friends of the corrupt administration are involved. But the controleur is catching them, as he gets copies in the office at Watumpone and then goes to Wadjo and asks why no answer. This is evidently the reason, or one of them, that the Wadjo folk are ready to revolt against the radja and the government. The letters are written by letter writers, who charge a fee to write them in most kampongs. M 695 661 668 212

In regard to Wadjo and Soppeng, Denzo said that the latter is pretty good and that the radja sees this is an overgangstijd [transitional period], as does his administration. Thus the situation is not so bad. But he agrees that Wadjo is awful.

Incidental: I see from the Sadang notes that the swing [During the period of rice ripening, swings are made of ratan, rope, and buffalo hide. The swings are attached to the branch of a tree. In some areas (Kesu, Sadang, and Balusu) boys and girls swing together. Swinging is done to promote the growth of the grains of rice. In some parts of the Sadang area (e.g., Rimbon), the swinging is done by women who also sing a song of gratitude for a good harvest. This custom apparently survives principally as a children's game. All references to swinging will be found in category 524. --Analyst] is used during the entire period of rice planting or rice ripening. S 524 243

I noted that the three-window front of a house, which I had thought was specifically Makassarese, is also found on Buginese houses in the mountains, for example in Soppeng. Thus all that has happened is that the Makassarese have kept it well, while the Buginese in the coastal and other areas tend to lose it. M 342 178

On the way up to Makale, I saw plenty of Toradja, including a coffin on a platform in the yard. The platform was made of bamboo. Bohn in Paloppo and my notes on van der Veen say that this is probably the Luwu group of Sadang. And Bohn corroborates that many are descendants of slaves who were brought there. They live mainly in separate kampongs from the Buginese and there are very few mixed kampongs. They have little social contact, except trading. They practically never intermarry. M 563

On the way in I noticed that the place around Rantepao is full of niche graves. Nearly every appropriate rock face has at least one, together with an ornate door. In these rather solitary ones, however, I did not notice the tautau. M 764